

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. II. No. 27.

CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 7, 1908.

50c a Year.

## NOTES FROM THE FIELD

### HELL POPPING IN MONTANA.

When General Sherman said "War was hell," he evidently knew what he was talking about, for we have war here and it is certainly "Hell." I arrived here in Missoula Wednesday, the 21st, at noon, and that evening, together with Shannon and Brown, the Secretary of the Darby Union, took in the camp at Harper's and Baird's. We booked up the camp and took orders from the men for their dues. Being too late that night to see "Mr. Boss," we came to town and Thursday night went back to the mill, one mile from the camp; got some more members; but on presenting the orders to the gent who has only one pay day a year, he said there was nothing doing, and that he would have no I. W. W. men around there, that if any one wanted any money to join the I. W. W. with, they could take the whole works. The bluff was called and the whole works went, and today, Friday, the institution is closed. The boys have their cards. Some paid for all of 1909, and they are having a good time. The only fault of the lumber jack—the cursed good time.

If the readers of the Bulletin have it in for anyone, just get the fellow a job as an organizer of the International connected with the A. F. of L. (it beats playing Rugby football), and send him into Montana among the lumber jacks.

The "International" is the company organization and the managers of the companies are very much interested in getting it built up because it is a good thing for the corporations, as it was used by them to whip the Industrial Unionists. It is composed of company tools, and the most loving corporation tool of the bunch is the president of the Montana State Federation.

With the aid of the company, the International organizers have put in two or three charters, but the real fight will be on when they attempt to take in the camps.

The men are not discouraged, even though the Western Federation in Butte has assisted the employers in lowering their wages and raising the hours, and it will take "By Jingo Lowney" and "Dictionary Moyer" some time to convince the Montana lumber jacks that the miners are any better than the Fairgrieve International scabs, who were organized for the express purpose of assisting the lumber companies.

The fight is on in all its glory. The atmosphere is getting clearer, and the men who have any independence left are now in a position where the agents of the stepping stone to civilization, or the Fairgrieve scabs, can hoodwink them no longer.

FRED W. HESLEWOOD,  
Organizer.

Some of you who are worrying about certain movements around New York read this and do likewise:

69 South Broadway,  
Yonkers, N. Y., Nov. 2, 1908.

Vincent St. John.  
Fellow Worker:—Enclosed find money order for \$10.00 for donation to I. W. W. fund. This money was raised by Branch Yonkers, Socialist Labor Party, for agitation, but instead is donated to I. W. W. use. Also check for \$10.00 from Frank Pearson, a member of above organization. In acknowledging these donations in Bulletin make these facts known.

Yours for Freedom,  
J. A. ORME.

A local of lumber workers recently organized pays its first monthly capital tax and supplies, sending to this office \$135.75. Some say that the I. W. W. is a "wreck." Away with you. The movement of our class for our emancipation calls for men and not overgrown boys that try to play marbles with our energies and hopes.

Preparations are being made by the I. W. W. coal miners' unions in the Anthracite District to secure the serv-

ices of G. E. B. Member J. J. Ettor and Guido Biagi of Seattle, Wash., and organize the slaves of the coal mines who have been so often betrayed by the labor misleaders of the United Mine Workers of America. Ettor and Biagi will carry the message of hope to these fellow workers, who have been defeated, betrayed, and discouraged so many times.

May success crown their efforts.

### HAIL THE MILITANTS.

Somers, Mont., Oct. 22, 1908.  
Mr. Vincent St. John, Chicago, Ill.  
Fellow Worker: Local unions in Western Montana requested Fellow Worker Heslewood to proceed at once to their territory and begin organization right.

At a regular meeting of Somers Local Union 384, on Saturday, Oct. 17, the question arose as to who would finance Heslewood's trip to this part of the state. On motion Somers Local forwarded \$50 to help defray expenses, and fellow workers who were in attendance contributed voluntarily. I give you herewith a list of the contributors with the amount set opposite their names:

L. Rukstoffer	.....\$1.00
Robt. Langley	.....1.00
Z. P. Edwards	.....5.00
Geo. House	.....1.00
Geo. Ruh	.....1.00
Will Myers	.....1.00
John Hellen	.....50
Herman Walters	.....50
K. R. Hellen	.....1.00
Fred Walters	.....50
Frank Farrell	.....1.00
A. F. Maroon	.....1.00
Jim Folks	.....50
Fred West	.....25
James Pulliam	.....50
C. Casperson	.....1.00
Charles West	.....1.00
Robt. Ulrich	.....1.00
E. Braneger	.....50
F. K. Richards	.....50
H. K. Collins	.....1.00
Charles Bartlett	.....1.00
Charles Coupland	.....25
J. C. Cokeren of 421	.....1.00
Charles Walters	.....1.00
Wm. Brown	.....25
Fred Heslewood	.....1.00
J. J. Johnson	.....1.00

Total amount .....\$26.25  
We also sold literature to union and non-union men and derived \$8.25 therefrom.

Heslewood left Tuesday morning for Missoula, Mont. He goes to show A. F. of L. labor fakirs where they belong, and make a fight for Industrial Unionism.

I ask you to kindly give this letter place in the next issue of the Bulletin. It is our desire to show the sentiment that exists among the workers here.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
J. J. JOHNSON,  
Secy. and Treas. L. U. 384, I. W. W.

We think it superfluous to add any comment to these cheering expressions.

In the beginning of the labor movement was "action." Action alone can furnish the measure of progress today. The lumber workers of Somers may not be conversant with the intricate word-jugglery of luminaries using Webster's Unabridged as a measure to determine how "industrial unionism is not popular," but they know that their fellow workers in the lumber camps had enough of the bitter lessons in the last few months and they are anxious to see them organized on correct lines as advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World. And that is being done with the co-operation such as expressed in the action of the local union of Somers. (The Editor.)

### HO! ATTENTION, FELLOW WORKERS.

Here is work for the hustlers, a stimulant for the laggards.  
We want you to get us 1,000 additional readers for the I. U. B. during the month of November. This is your cue, now it's up to you to endeavor to secure them. The why and the wherefore should be self-

evident to every member. The I. U. B. has reached a paid up circulation of 9,000. All together for the 10,000 mark!

We will publish from time to time the names of those who have done their share towards hitting the bullseye—10,000—that's the mark you must hit. Boys, you'll do it if you keep at it with the same persistent determination as when starting out. A spasmodic spurt will not accomplish the desired result. We have also a number of names in localities where there is no local of the I. W. W., but any member can secure some by asking for them for the aforementioned purpose.

Preparations are being made for the issuing of a special edition of the Bulletin the first week in January, 1909, to be known as "Anti-Militarist Edition." We have a special article from our French Fellow Worker A. Pratelle, a member of the "General Confederation of Labor," for publication. We wish to urge the necessity of all fellow workers who are in possession of facts relative to the use of military during strikes, etc., to send the information to the Editor of the Bulletin at their earliest opportunity. Matter from soldiers or ex-soldiers and army men also welcome.

To work now, Fellow Workers, boost this matter, go out and secure subs. Get your local to order bundle orders of this issue.

If the members of the I. W. W. wish the Bulletin to be re-established on a weekly basis, they must furnish the necessary circulation. Last week many new subs were received, most of them yearlies. But we must have more. There is three thousand dollars' worth of sub cards that means six thousand cards in the Editor's desk. Every local union of the I. W. W. should immediately elect a special agent to secure subs to the official organ. Be up and doing. Be men worthy of our class. Don't let it be said that the workers will not maintain the organization of their creation. Order prepaid sub cards. Sold in blocks of 10.

### TO INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS EVERYWHERE.

Statement of Local No. 179, Industrial Workers of the World, concerning the activities of the late New York Industrial Council of the I. W. W.:

From September 21 to October 1, 1908, there was held in Chicago, Ill., a regular convention of the Industrial Workers of the World. The legislation passed by that convention may, or may not, in its entirety, meet with the approval of a majority of Local No. 179. As soon as the matter is submitted by headquarters to the locals for referendum, local No. 179 will consider, discuss and act upon the various propositions, and until such time no act of the convention, which was composed entirely of delegates of the rank and file, can become the law of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Meanwhile information has reached us that the Industrial Council in New York City, at a meeting held October 8, severed its connection with the general headquarters of the I. W. W. The cause alleged for this step is disagreement with the acts of the convention.

This unwarranted secession followed the action of but one local of the organization in New York city. More than twenty locals and branches represented in the council had not met since the opening of the convention. Therefore, it was impossible that the council in its mad haste, could have been executing the orders of the rank and file.

The schemers and plotters in the council did not deem it necessary to do the membership the honor of postponing action one single week, by which time a considerable number of locals and branches could have been consulted in the matter. This stealthy move of a boss-ridden "council" we consider unconstitutional, high-handed, despotic, and far beneath and unworthy of the lofty principles and great purposes of our organization, and destructive of the best interests of the working class.

We trace its cause to a single individual, Daniel DeLeon, whose pernicious activities in the matter are due solely to malice and bitterness, because he was refused a seat in the convention. He would not, dared not, await the action of the rank and file through peaceful referendum.

Daniel DeLeon has unceasingly prated about legality, constitutional methods and the necessity of the working class learning to respect and abide by its own legislation. He has now trampled these desirable and necessary essentials under foot, and trailed them in the dust, thus proving to the world that he never meant to practice what he preached. Placing himself above the constitution and laws of the Industrial Workers of the World, he has resorted to his well-known and time-worn policy of "rule or ruin." His conduct, however, will tend to open the eyes of his erstwhile followers and clarify the labor movement. This was absolutely necessary.

DeLeon and the few individuals who support him in his machinations, we accuse of disloyalty to the working class. Mild as the impeachment is, we believe that the membership of the I. W. W. will clearly understand the case and act intelligently upon it. That done, the disruptionists will silently and quietly pass into oblivion, whither they are fast drifting. With high hopes for the future of our beloved organization, we call upon all fellow workers throughout the land to stand firmly with us, condemn disruption and treason now, and wherever found in the future, and exert every effort to support the regular headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World. This is your solemn duty! Clearly set forth, it is the first duty to yourself, to your sanity and to your fellow workers! Do your duty now, hasten the day of your emancipation from wage slavery.

THOS. FLYNN,  
JOHN SHERER,  
PATRICK DONOHUE,  
Committee.

These resolutions were passed at a special meeting of Local No. 179, held Sunday, Oct. 25, 1908, by a vote of 8 to 3.

WM. A. WALTERS, Sec'y.

### SOME SPECIFIC WORK FOR ACTIVE MEMBERS.

We have a list of names of workers who failed to renew their subscription to the Bulletin. It's just as important to go after renewals as it is to get new subs. Necessary and easy for several reasons. It affords a chance for a heart to heart talk, which in most instances would prove productive of a satisfactory result. Any local that desires to take up the work of getting in touch with these delinquent subscribers should write to the I. U. B. for a list of names. Sample copies have been mailed to all those workers. If you are interested in increasing the circulation of your official organ, the Bulletin, then consider this matter and go ahead and DO at once what ought to be done.

### TOWARDS THE 10,000 MARK.

Chicago takes the lead in starting the gong-a-ringing, organized effort again demonstrating the value of co-operation.

Under the able direction of Fellow Worker Wilcox, Fellow Workers Daily, Wulf, Pluck, E. G. Flynn and others, sold 558 Industrial Union Bulletins at the big Armory mass meeting last Sunday. Four dollars worth of handbooks were also disposed of, besides 1,500 Preston and Smith leaflets distributed. Fellow Workers! Fall in line and do something for your official organ, the Industrial Union Bulletin, NOW.

### LINES TO A QUITTER.

You've sworn to do your duty,  
But you don't;  
You say you'll quit complaining,  
But you won't.

Hell's full of good intentions,  
Down below.  
They're used for sidewalk paving,  
As you know.

—Exchange.

## VINCENT ST. JOHN'S REPORT

### To the Delegates of the Fourth Annual Convention.

Fellow Workers:  
I herewith submit to you my report as General Organizer and Assistant Secretary:

I left Goldfield, Nev., on December 16th and arrived in Chicago on the 19th, expecting to take up the work for the organization. Shortly after my arrival, however, I was compelled to enter the hospital, where I remained until the month of February.

Arrangements having been made for a trip through the coal fields of the state before my leaving Goldfield, it was the first work that I attempted. Starting on the trip March 17th, the trip extended as far south as St. Louis, Mo., which point was reached April 3d. I arrived back in Chicago on the 11th of April. On the trip twenty dates were filled. Results were little, except in the way of agitation for Industrial Unionism. While the coal miners are in need of revolutionary industrial unionism as much as any other workers, no concrete results can be expected amongst them until the I. W. W. is in a financial position to place in the field a sufficient number of organizers to cover a certain area at one and the same time, thus crystallizing the discontent amongst them until sufficient numbers are aroused to make it possible for the organization to protect those workers in the industry who have cast their lot with a militant organization of their class. This is made absolutely necessary by the combination between the mine operatives and the officials of the U. M. W. A., a compact that is used for no purpose but to keep in subjection the mine workers of the state.

Since April 11 I have been in the office, and aside from a few meetings held in Chicago and one at Chicago Heights, my work has been mainly to handle the correspondence.

I have appended to this report a tabulation of the work of the fellow workers who have acted as national and voluntary organizers for the General Office.

Also a list of unions chartered since the last convention, and a list of those disbanded. The number of locals organized is 76; district councils, 3; number of locals disbanded, 63.

The big majority of the locals that have disbanded can be traced to the inability of the general organization to finance the number of organizers needed to see that the membership of these locals have a thorough understanding of the aims and objects of the I. W. W. before leaving them to their own devices. There are several cases, as will be noticed, where the disbanding of locals is the result of the combined opposition of the employer's associations and their zealous allies, the officials of "harmony of interests" organizations which call themselves labor organizations for no other purpose than to better accomplish their task of deluding the workers. These cases call for definite action on the part of this convention. That it go on record that however great the provocation, in the interest of our class acts of retaliation will not be countenanced by the I. W. W.

Careful consideration of the needs of an industrial organization has convinced me that henceforth charters should be issued only to bona fide industrial unions—that educational clubs take the place of mixed locals, such clubs having no voice in the conduct of the affairs of the I. W. W.

I would recommend that the number necessary to secure a local industrial charter be increased to twenty signers, and also that in order to hold a charter it be required that payment of tax must be made to the General Office on the basis of at least twenty members, educational clubs to be chartered as such with a charter list of at least ten names.

Strict constitutional provisions should be made governing the issuance of referendums.

The purchase of per capita stamps should be monthly, or every two months at least, so that a fair basis of representation will at all times be had.

The referendums taken while I have been in position to observe have established this fact: Some locals will send in returns over and above the number of

members on which they are paying tax. For example, one local union sends a vote of twenty on a referendum when the books show the said local to have paid on an average membership of three for the past six months. Vote of local unions on referendums should be based upon the stamps purchased from the General Office on the month prior to the date of the referendum being initiated. The purpose of the referendum is to get an honest verdict from the membership. Its object must be zealously guarded, if it is not to become the opposite whenever the economic strength of the I. W. W. makes it of sufficient importance.

Strict constitutional provisions should be enacted governing the powers of district councils, national industrial unions and departments.

Strict constitutional provisions should be enacted governing the filing and trial of charges against members of the I. W. W.

The status of the general secretaries in conventions should be clearly defined. In this connection I wish to say that you cannot legislate integrity into any man or set of men. It is the work of education. Now can you erect a movement upon the shifting sands of suspicion. Differences of opinion we should discuss fully and freely. Insinuations and the questioning of each other's motives, unless backed by concrete proof, should have no part in the discussion of differences of opinion.

"Popularity with the workers" of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism has been called in question by an official of an organization that was formerly a part of the I. W. W. Popularity is today a question of power. If the adherents of Industrial Unionism are going to wait until it has the power to make itself popular, before granting to it their allegiance, there is little hope for any movement that aims at the overthrow of the present system. The past six months has seen new authorities appear in the labor movement. Marx has been eclipsed by Webster; Engels by Johnson of dictionary fame, and their compeers by the compilers of the Encyclopedia Britannica. Verily, the world do move. The gentleman is in error. The time is not far distant when the wage slave will recognize that in the constructive program of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism lies the only hope for emancipation from the wage system.

The last convention of the W. F. M. in Denver, Colo., brought to light insinuations of a serious nature against my standing as a member of the working class. Men upon the floor of that convention who have been associated with me in the past made every effort to force those making the insinuations to place them in concrete form before the W. F. M. They were unable to do so. Nevertheless, the insinuations have been scattered broadcast by at least a part of the labor press, as well as the capitalist press. In my judgment this calls for notice on the part of this convention. No one purporting to have knowledge of the fact that any officer of the I. W. W. is a Pinkerton should be allowed to go unchallenged to produce the proof.

VINCENT ST. JOHN.

All members and sympathizers of the I. W. W. are requested to clip news articles from all papers they read, local and otherwise, indicating the attitude of labor leaders, politicians and employers toward labor, organized and unorganized. Also articles dealing with hours of labor, wages, shop conditions, technical improvements in plants, etc. Send same to the editor of the Industrial Union Bulletin without comment. Also copies of advertisements appearing in labor papers. Mark on clipping the name of the paper and date of issue. Enclose clippings in correspondence to the General Office.

Fellow Worker H. G. Cook, the Librarian of the Melbourne I. W. W. Club, sends in nine yearly subs to the Bulletin and encouraging reports from Australia, showing the growth of I. W. W. sentiment in that land.

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE  
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

212 BUSH TEMPLE



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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY.

CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 7, 1908.

JOHN D'S. SOLILOQUY.

(Tune, Auld Lang Syne.)

Ten million workers sweat and toil,  
Increasing my wealth and fame,  
With wages small, but I tell them all  
Our interest is the same.  
Their labor leaders repeat my words,  
And politics hold sway,  
Which pleases me, as I like to see  
Them vote in the same old way.

Chorus:—

The grub is soaring out of sight,  
And clothing's extra high,  
And house rents upward take their course  
And to the heavens fly.  
While wages take the toboggan route,  
And downward, down they go;  
So workingmen, when winter comes,  
May have to live on snow.

For some stand pat for the Democrat,  
And some for the G. O. P.,  
But both will use the riot gun  
Whenever it pleases me,  
Or split their force in the great sham fight,  
For none understand the game;  
So whichever wins of my faithful twins,  
I "boodle," just the same.

They cast their vote for the twelve-hour boss  
And strike for an eight-hour day;  
Which cheers me so that I overflow  
With mirth and reduce their pay;  
They strike like fools, and they vote like seals,  
And land in the big bull-pen;  
Hence I laugh "Ha! Ha!" But my interests are  
The same as the workingmen.

The Industrial Worker is all I fear  
In this land of graft and fake;  
If I can't prevent their gathering here,  
To the woods I'll have to take.  
As long as they play with my ballot-box  
My sides will shake with glee;  
When they organize to enforce their rights,  
O then, "Skidoo!" for me.

—Adopted from the "Baltimore Sun," by Charles Scurlock, Seattle,  
Wash.

## THE JOBITES' LAMENTABLE LAMENT.

(Tune, Alexander.)

By Cliff Hughes.

Listen, Mister Banker:—Please, oh, quit your foolin',  
I can see it plainly that—this land you're ruin',  
All the days I'm longing to be true to you.  
Look here, Mister Banker; say, won't you relieve me?  
I would break my back in two, if you should leave me.  
Won't you take me back, boss—I'll stick to it like glue.  
I won't let no agitator talk to me.  
I'll be just as good a slave—as I can be,  
I'll just hang a scabbing sign outside mah door—  
Mister Banker! Take me back once more!

CHORUS:—

Don't you see me cringe and see me softly crawlin'?—  
Mister Banker!  
Don't you see your humble slave am softly bawlin'?—  
Mister Banker!  
Give me back my job again and call me bunny;  
All I want is work, but I don't want more money;—  
Mister Banker, tell me, don't you want your lackey no more?

Listen, Mister Banker:—I say, "Damn the Union!"  
When they say the people ought to do the ruin',  
All the days of their lives, they in jail should spend.  
Look here, Mister Banker:—Please, oh, don't you need me?  
I would be your lackey, too, if you would let me.  
Won't you take me back, boss? and I'll ever be true  
I won't let no union get a-hold of me  
I'll just act the dirty knave, where'er I be!  
I'll just keep spying on my friends, the poor.  
Mister Banker, take me back once more!

CHORUS:—

Don't you hear the workers' price am softly fallin'?—  
Mister Banker!  
Don't you hear the sucker's voice am softly 'tallin'?—  
Mister Banker!  
Give me back my job again, and bone mah honey.  
All I want is work, but I don't want more money.  
Mister Banker, tell me, don't you want your lackey no more?

## SUBTRACT THE DEAD ONES— ADD THE LIVE ONES.

The I. W. W. Growa Apaca.

The last Bulletin contained an account of the situation in New York, referring among other things to a "call" initiated by the New York Industrial District Council for a "conference of delegates or representatives to meet and provide a temporary administration to conduct the affairs of the general organization until a representative convention of the I. W. W. can be held."

This "call," which was published recently in a New York paper under the signature of A. J. Francis, the delegate who denied himself a seat in the Fourth Annual Convention by refusing to meet charges preferred against him before the Grievance Committee, goes on to state that the following organizations have endorsed the "call" to date:

"Hoboken Bakers, Local 435; Millinery Workers, New York, Local 53; Clothing Workers, New York, Local 59; Store and Office Workers, New York, Local 58; Brooklyn Industrial Union, Local 206; Silk Workers, Paterson, N. J., Local 152; New York Industrial District Council; Paterson Industrial District Council; Hartford Industrial Union, Local 69; Locals 159, 26, 426, Branch 1, Detroit, Mich.; Transportation Workers, Local 4, Denver, Colo.; Bridgeport, Conn., Industrial Union 113; Local 554, Hamilton, Canada."

The signers of the "call" allege as a reason for their action that "the general officers of the I. W. W., Trautmann and St. John, and three members of the G. E. B., Healewood, Williams and Cole, disregarding all constitutional provisions to the contrary, high-handedly packed the Fourth Annual Convention, depriving locals of representation to which they were entitled; and this packed convention rewrote the Preamble and abandoned the established principles of the I. W. W."

The allegations about a "packed convention," etc., were clearly refuted by the statement in the last Bulletin compiled from the records of the convention. That statement need not be repeated here.

But an examination of the status of the above-named locals and district councils, as well as of one or two others that have "resolved" themselves out of the I. W. W., will serve as a flashlight on the motives of the would-be "wreckers." The following facts and figures are compiled from the official records of the General Office:

Local 53 paid \$16.50 per capita for the six months ending September 19, 1908, thus showing a good standing membership of 18.

Local 58 paid \$17.70 in the same period, showing a membership of 19. Since the action of this local in withdrawing from the I. W. W., the former financial secretary returned eighteen unused dues stamps. Deducting these eighteen stamps brings the average membership of Local 58 in the six months down to 16.

Local 59 paid per capita for the six months in the sum of \$99.05, or on the basis of 110 members.

Local 206 paid \$7.50 in the same period of six months, which denotes a good-standing membership of 8. That one at least of these eight members does not endorse the action of his local is shown by a letter, dated October 30, from Fellow Worker John Ventavos of Local 206, enclosing \$25 as a donation, and expressing regret that he cannot send more. The letter expresses praise for the action of the minority in the Council who refused to report to that body after it had voted itself out of the I. W. W., and condemns the majority in equal measure.

Local 435 has paid only \$15.00 per capita in six months since it was organized, which credits that local with a good-standing membership of 16.

Local 152 paid \$197.50 per capita in the last six months, which is on the basis of 219 members in good standing during that period. This per capita came to the General Office entirely from Branch 1, through the efforts of loyal members of that branch, who, in the local and in the District Council, opposed the tactics of a clique of would-be "wreckers," who had previously been collecting per capita from the branches and appropriating same to pay salary to an organizer. The protests of Branch 1 against such methods were the real reason for the recent expulsion of that branch from Local 152. None of the good-standing membership of 152 will be lost by the formal "withdrawal" of the local.

Local 69 paid \$8.25 per capita in six months to September 3, 1908, thereby showing only 9 members in good standing.

Local 4, Denver, Colo., was reorganized July 30, 1908, being formed by a consolidation of Locals 11 and 15 of that city. The two locals paid a combined per capita of \$21.55 in the last six months, showing in that period a total membership of 23 in good standing. Local 4 has bought no stamps from headquarters since it was formed, having a supply on hand from the other locals at the time of consolidation and reorganization. These stamps are paid

for and are included in the above \$21.55.

Local 554, Hamilton, Canada, was chartered April 4, 1907. Up to date—in eighteen months—it has paid \$19.10 per capita, which is on the basis of 7 members in good standing during that period.

Local 26, Detroit, Mich., was chartered May 22, 1907, and since that time has paid only \$18.75 per capita. Of this amount, \$3.75 only was paid in the last six months—on February 10—which would credit that local with only FOUR good-standing members in that period. Delegate H. Richter, who represented this and the two following locals at the Fourth Annual Convention, was granted a seat on his promise to square up with the locals of Detroit. He has failed to make good to date, however.

Local 159, also of Detroit, paid \$1.50 per capita June 29, 1908. The local paid nothing before that date for nine months, and has paid nothing since. It is therefore non-existent as far as the general organization is concerned.

Local 426 was chartered February 12, 1908. It paid only the charter fee, and owes \$24.00 for stamps received at the time.

The above three locals have endorsed the "call" of A. J. Francis, and "resolved" to have nothing more to do with the I. W. W.

Local 113, Bridgeport, Conn., was marked "defunct" on the books in the General Office June 1, 1908, having paid no per capita since September 26, 1907. In a resolution dated October 24, this local announces its intention to "sever our connections and affiliations with the Industrial Workers of the World as represented at headquarters at present at 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, and refuse to pay any more dues or per capita to the said headquarters." This is presumably a case of "repudiation"—of debts—as the local owed the general organization \$45.00 on June 1, 1908.

Other locals and branches which have passed resolutions declining to "recognize the new administration of the I. W. W.," and intending to "remain independent," are as follows:

Branch 11, Local 95, New York. Other branches remain intact. Estimated good-standing membership of Branch 11 is 50.

Local 125, Denver, Colo., ten members only. Local paid \$27.00 per capita in the last six months, or on the basis of 30 members in good standing. Majority of the local stand firm.

Local 198, Toronto, Canada. Paid \$3.60 in last six months, or for FOUR members only in good standing in that period. Owes \$20.15 for supplies and charter fee for Jewish branch. The last named branch has paid neither charter fee nor per capita since it was alleged to have been organized; but in a resolution passed by Local 198 this "Jewish branch," along with the English branch, signifies its intention to "withdraw from the present headquarters of the I. W. W."

The New York Industrial District Council, which initiated the "call" for a "new conference," owed the general organization on June 1, 1908, for supplies, and per capita collected from locals, the sum of \$441.23. Since that time to date total increased to \$487.48. Of this indebtedness \$203.30 has been paid, leaving a balance due General Headquarters of \$284.18. Deducting from this amount \$99.95, which was recently paid by the former secretary of the Council, Eugene Fischer, leaves a net balance due the general organization of \$184.23. The Council voted to "sever all relations with the so-called St. John-Trautmann administration," and refused to turn over the property in its possession belonging to the general organization, which presumably means that the New York Council has repudiated its debt of \$184.23.

The Paterson Industrial District Council acknowledged an indebtedness to the general organization for per capita and supplies aggregating, on June 1, 1908, the sum of \$95.61. Since that date \$35.00 has been paid. Deducting also \$72.00 allowed to former G. E. B. Member Rudolph Katz as expenses to the Fourth Convention, and to be taken from the Paterson debt, leaves a net balance due the general organization from the Paterson Council of \$586.61. Most of this amount was received in per capita from Local 152 and other smaller locals in Paterson, and used by a majority in the Council to pay the salary of Organizer Rudolph Katz. The latest report from Paterson is to the effect that the supplies and other property of the general administration in possession of the "wreckers" is being carefully guarded by police stationed around I. W. W. headquarters on Main street.

Above is the list of "dead" ones, complete to date. Summing up, we find that the total defection from all the above locals combined is 275, exclusive of the 219 members of Local 152, who do not belong to the bolters. We also find that four of the organizations named owe, according to the foregoing statement, a combined sum of \$841.94 to the general organization.

As an offset to the defection of the would-be "wreckers," the I. W. W. shows the following new locals chartered during the month of October:

Four Lumber Workers' locals in Montana, with charter membership of ..... 734  
Globe, Arizona, 100 charter members, since increased to ..... 250  
Los Angeles (branch) ..... 20  
Anaconda, Mont., charter members 30

Total ..... 1,034  
A letter of recent date from Wm. Yates, of Textile Workers' Local 157, New Bedford, Mass., whose delegate cast eight votes with the minority at the Fourth Convention, says: "New Bedford stands by the 'wreck' (?)". Further comment is unnecessary.

Since the above was written one additional local—No. 218, of Philadelphia—has decided that continued affiliation with the "amenders of the Preamble" is intolerable, and has passed a long resolution to that effect, "repudiating" the new administration of the I. W. W. Local 218, since the Second I. W. W. Convention, in September, 1906, has paid a total per capita of \$21.30. Of that amount \$7.80 was paid in the past six months, since March 13, 1908, which is on a basis of 8 members only in good standing during that period. The local owes \$11.35 for per capita and supplies.

## "NOW OR NEVER" IS THE TIME TO DIG UP.

The election is over, and the excitement attending the political battle having subsided, now is the time to spread the propaganda for Industrial Unionism. Organizers are in demand everywhere to help crystallize the growing sentiment for economic organization. To the end of supplying organizers and literature for this work, the I. W. W. must have at least \$5,000 in the hands of the General Administration before the first of January. The active men in the I. W. W. can get this money if they go after it at once. If you have a dollar slip it into an envelope and rush it in for the "Now or Never" fund TODAY. Get busy also with your shopmates and friends. A dollar from each I. W. W. member, and just as many more from sympathizers as you can get. Let every man get on the job without delay. Dig in and dig up.

E. Buettler	.....\$0.50
Chris. Wagner	.....50
J. Purshe	.....1.00
V. Podmaker	.....50
S. O. Chinn	.....50
Thos. Borlaude	.....1.00
F. Heffler	.....1.00
Wm. Librecht	.....4.00
J. Peterson	.....1.00
G. Nickerson	.....50
Wm. Duncan	.....50
R. Larson	.....25
F. Dromme	.....25
P. W. Weidmon	.....1.00
F. Easton	.....25
L. A. Farrin	.....25
C. H. Axelsson	.....25
J. M. Mahoney	.....25
H. Finberg	.....50
Wm. Van Buskirk	.....50
P. J. Kelly	.....25
Joe Jacober	.....1.00
Joe Ventavos	.....25.00
Theodore Johnson	.....1.00
L. Heasler	.....50
J. A. Barry	.....1.00
Geo. H. Johnson	.....5.00
V. Anderson	.....50
Joe Jacober	.....1.00
F. Wittelmann	.....1.00
L. S. Duncan	.....1.00
F. Brane	.....5.00
R. McDonald	.....1.00
C. Highland	.....25
A. Anderson	.....25
E. Lidberg	.....25
A. Johnson	.....25
I. Peterson	.....25
U. Frueh	.....1.00
H. Traurig on Mat.	.....1.00
J. Wiley	.....1.00
E. Koettgen	.....1.00
P. Coldits	.....1.00
R. Bannenloff	.....1.00
O. Koettgen	.....1.00
F. Koettgen	.....1.00
U. Frueh	.....1.00
E. Romary	.....50
Aug. Roehler	.....50
M. Durkin	.....50
A. Lessig	.....1.00
R. Funk	.....25
E. M.	.....25
D.	.....40
J. Reese	.....2.00
L. E. Freeman	.....50
L. Crane	.....50
E. Boetue	.....25
Local No. 382, Seattle Wash.	.....2.50
Section S. L. P., Yonkers, N. Y.	.....10.00
Frank Pearson	.....10.00
	.....\$97.40
Previously acknowledged	.....\$998.51
Total	.....\$995.91

## ATTENTION, RESTAURANT WORKERS OF NEW YORK CITY.

The regular meetings of Local 118, I. W. W., Hotel and Restaurant Workers, for November will be held at 126 West 25th St., on the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month, Nov. 16 and 24. Other meetings will be announced later. Members take notice.  
K. BERGMAN,  
Secretary.

WHAT OTHERS HAVE TO SAY.  
The "Bulletin International," of the Syndicalist Movement of several European countries, published in French, in its issue of Oct. 23, contains the following summary of the Fourth Annual Convention of the I. W. W.:  
"THE CONVENTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AT CHICAGO.—We will complete the short note we gave in the last number of our Bulletin regarding the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, by several items gleaned from the official organ of that organization—The Industrial Union Bulletin, issue of Oct. 10.

"The Chicago convention, the Fourth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, was in session from Sept. 21 to Oct. 1, and the distinctive characteristics of the LABOR organization shown by the union, distinguished this convention as the first really revolutionary convention of wage workers held in America.

"The exclusion of the politician professor, Daniel DeLeon, which we mentioned in our last number, was made on the ground that he was not properly a member of the industrial union to which he was attached. However, it is necessary to add that the campaign waged by DeLeon against the I. W. W. organization, in which he is said to have played into the hands of anarchist leaders, contributed much toward his exclusion.

"One National Federation—of Textile Workers—took part in the convention. The West was represented by delegates from Seattle, Portland and Los Angeles.

"The report of the General Organizer, Comrade Vincent St. John, showed that the organization at present comprises 164 local unions.

"The Bulletin of the organization will continue to appear semi-monthly. "A resolution authorizes the formation of Propaganda Leagues, composed of members of the working class, and to be established wherever the General Organizer deems their creation necessary. They will afford a good opportunity to women wage workers to take part in industrial union propaganda. They will also make possible the participation in that propaganda of numerous clubs and unions of foreign nationalities, which have hitherto been compelled to remain out of contact with the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"The revolutionary spirit was excellent among the delegates, many of whom came from a distance at great sacrifice.

"The address of the organization and of the Industrial Union Bulletin is 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill."

## A NOTEWORTHY COMMENT.

The recent national convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, held at Chicago, may be justly characterized—without the least exaggeration—as a truly inspiring phenomenon, to be rejoiced over by all friends of labor.

Not because of momentous questions satisfactorily decided, or difficult problems solved for the benefit of the industrial proletariat. Nor because of wonderful eloquence of the delegates or some winged words thundering through the breadth of the land. All this were but of secondary importance as compared with the spirit of the revolutionary element among the delegates—the spirit of mute heroism and silent sacrifice; of international brotherhood and solidarity; of intelligent rebellion against all forms of oppression and slavery.

That is the spirit that actuated an unusual degree those delegates who, lacking the means of transportation, had to cover hundreds of miles on foot, travel by freight and in box cars in order to participate in the convention. Suffering is the true test. Many are willing to orate, but only those who can cheerfully suffer for it are worthy of a noble cause. With such men in their ranks, the I. W. W. may confidently hope that success will crown their persistent efforts towards industrial emancipation. But what a contrast between such an earnest idealistic element and those parlor knights whose erstwhile revolutionary principles have become a "private affair," the main efforts of the party being now directed towards vote gathering. How pitifully small the pygmies of political Socialism look alongside those rebels at the Chicago convention, the living symbols of Labor awakened—"Mother Earth."

## MEMBERS OF THE NEWLY EMBOSSED EXECUTIVE BOARD.

T. J. Cole, Tailor, Transportation Worker, Erie Island, Ill.  
Francis Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.  
Thomas Whitbread, Machinist, Seattle, Wash.  
Harry A. Galson, Building Worker, St. Louis, Mo.  
Joseph J. Storer, Metal Worker, San Francisco, Cal.

# The Fourth Annual Convention of The I. W. W.

FIFTH DAY SESSION—Continued.

Morishey moved that a committee of three be elected, and the motion being seconded, was carried.

The following three delegates were elected by acclamation: Wm. Rice, Geo. House, T. Morishey.

**Fifth Day, Afternoon Session.** Chair called convention to order at 2 o'clock P. M. Roll was called.

A. Yates inquired about the standing of Local Union No. 24 and 163.

Committee on Rules reported; motion was made to adopt report; amended to take up the report serially. Amendment carried. Clause 1 was read, and upon motion adopted, and so on to Clause 10, which was adopted in the order as read.

Rules governing debate were read. Rule No. 1 was adopted, Rule No. 2 was adopted, Rule No. 3 was adopted, Rule No. 4 was amended "to strike out '5'" and insert "'3'" instead. Amendment lost, four voting in favor.

Rules Nos. 5, 6 and 7 were adopted. Motion was made by Pinkerton that 15 minutes be allowed each speaker, except when the convention votes an extension. Wm. Yates amended to strike out "'15'" and insert instead "'ten'" minutes. Amendment carried.

Nominations for Assistant Secretary of convention were called for, owing to the fact that the General Secretary had too much other work to attend to.

H. L. Gaines was elected, after the following nominated declined: Arnold, Martin, Heslewood, Conover, Williams, Axelson, A. Yates, Katz, Hertz, Flynn, F. Miller.

Distribution of resolutions and amendments to the various committees: Resener of Local Union No. 95 request to allot him another vote was read; motion made and seconded to not comply with the request. Motion carried, one vote dissenting.

Resolution No. 2 referred to Credentials Committee.

Resolution No. 3 referred to Constitution Committee.

Resolution No. 4 referred to Constitution Committee.

Resolution No. 5 referred to Constitution Committee.

Resolution No. 6 referred to Constitution Committee.

Resolution No. 7 referred to Constitution Committee.

Resolution No. 8 referred to Constitution Committee.

Resolution No. 9, to send telegram of good cheer to Preston and Smith, carried.

Resolution No. 10 was referred to Constitution Committee.

Resolution No. 11 was referred to the Grievance Committee.

Motion was made by Cole and seconded to grant the floor to Fellow Worker Pinkerton. Pinkerton addressed the convention on industrial insurance features, and the documents were turned over to the Secretary for investigation and distribution among the committee.

Motion to adjourn to Saturday, September 26th, 9 A. M., carried.

**SIXTH DAY.** Forenoon Session.

Chair called convention to order at 9 o'clock a. m. Roll call. Three absentees.

Secretary read the minutes as far as they were put into shape on the mimeograph machine, announcing beforehand that in some instances a synopsis of the speeches made had been compiled and incorporated in the minutes.

Minutes were read, including part of the arguments made by Fellow Worker De Leon on the floor of the convention.

Telegram of greeting was read from Tobacco Workers' Union No. 89, of Cleveland, O., and upon motion the telegram was ordered to be incorporated in the minutes.

A telegram purported to be sent by a committee of millinery workers union No. 53 was read and ordered filed.

Resolution No. 13 was read and referred to the grievance committee.

Resolution No. 14 was referred to the constitution committee.

Resolution No. 15 was referred to the grievance committee.

Resolution No. 16 was referred to the grievance committee.

Resolution No. 17, being a printed document sent in by Local Union No. 218 of Philadelphia, was read, and the chair ruled that it be referred to the committee on resolutions.

Resolution No. 18 was referred to the resolution committee.

Resolution No. 19 was referred to the grievance committee.

Resolution No. 20 was referred to the constitution committee.

Resolution No. 21 and 21A were referred to the grievance committee.

Resolution No. 22, minutes of the first session of the Executive Board of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, were read and referred to the committee on organization.

Communication from Ernst Besselmann, of Diego, sending greetings to convention, was read and ordered incorporated in the minutes.

Resolution No. 23 was referred to the constitution committee.

Secretary asked that he be given time to complete his report to the convention, and upon motion made by Williams the request was granted.

General Organizer Vincent St. John then read his annual report. After same was read, Wm. Yates asked for the number of locals that disbanded during the year. General Organizer St. John answered that the committee on officers' reports take notice of that question and act on same.

All other members of the G. E. B. were called upon, and only Williams having his report ready, he read same. Williams also stated that the report is not complete, and he wanted to give an additional report on his investigation of the Bridgeport affair later.

As soon as Williams had finished his report a motion was made to adjourn to 1 o'clock p. m. Motion was amended to strike out 1 and insert 2 o'clock.

Connolly of New York asked whether he could have the floor, and as no objection was raised he asked the convention the reasons why the credentials of fraternal delegates from the Propaganda League of New York City were not accepted, as he had read in the papers a report which rather distorted the facts in his opinion.

Vincent St. John in reply stated that the information came from a rather unreliable source, and Axelson stated that the convention thought that the seating of the delegates from bodies outside of the I. W. W. would tangle up matters too much, but that the delegate could at any time when so desired have the floor. This apparently being the sense of the convention, no further replies were made, and the amendment to adjourn to 2 o'clock carried.

## SIXTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chair called convention to order at 2 o'clock p. m.

Roll was called.

Communications were read.

Resolution No. 24 was referred to constitution committee.

Also resolutions No. 25, No. 26, No. 27 and No. 28.

Communication was read from Fellow Worker H. Richter from Detroit, in which he notified the convention that Local Union 157 of Detroit had instructed him to take his seat, and he asked that the convention rescind him as delegate. The chair stated that the delegate would comply with the provisions made previously as guarantee of his being seated, that he may take his seat.

Committee on credentials reported that the request to consider the cases of Local Union No. 24 and No. 163 be not sustained. Motion made and seconded to concur in report.

Katz asked who had substantiated the contention that the District Council of Newark, N. J., is defunct.

Wm. Yates stated his reasons why he did not appear before the committee to argue on the protest.

Williams stated that negotiations had been carried on with the locals in New Jersey, within a radius of 25 miles from New York City Hall, to be represented in the New York District Council. Rosener disputed the facts, but was answered that he was not a delegate in the Council when these transactions took place.

Motion made by Heslewood and seconded by Trainor, to table the report. Motion lost by a vote of 8 against 9.

Wm. Yates again stated that the protest was not made on account of the financial affairs of the locals, but because of the geographical demarcations.

Jerry Smith moved the previous question, Senter seconded and the

motion was carried with one vote dissenting.

Motion to adopt report of committee carried, 14 for and 4 against.

General Secretary-Treasurer Trautmann read his report and a summary of financial transactions during the year. The report was referred to the auditing committee and to the committee on officers' reports, as well as to the committee on constitution. Marked document No. 29.

Resolution No. 30 was referred to committee on organization.

Committee on constitution reported that they were ready to give a report on some amendments, and stated that the committee had organized with H. B. Williams as chairman and E. G. Flynn as secretary.

Committee submitted a majority and minority report on the amendments to change the preamble, Axelson for the minority.

The majority report recommends that the preamble be not changed. Walsh asked the committee whether same confined its work to resolutions or changes sent in, or whether the committee would as such make recommendation on the status of the preamble. Katz moved that the report of the committee be taken up serially. Motion carried.

Resolution No. 3 disposed of, submitted by Local Union No. 163, by concurring in the report of the committee on constitution to turn the resolution over to the committee on resolutions to define the point at issue.

Committee reported adversely on the amendments submitted by Local Union No. 178 of Seattle, as follows: That the preamble to the constitution be amended by striking out the word "all" in the "second paragraph" and the clause "without affiliation with any political party" and the words, "which is its own political expression" be inserted in its place.

Motion by Trainor, seconded by Heslewood, that the report be adopted. Motion carried.

Committee reported adversely on proposition No. 14 submitted by Local 165, Br. 2, on the preamble which provided to strike out "or desiring the endorsement of any political party."

Moved and seconded that report of committee be adopted. Motion carried.

Committee reported adversely on resolution 23 from delegate of Local Union 163, to-wit: That the sentence, "without affiliation with any political party" be struck out, and the last paragraph, "without endorsing or desiring the endorsement of any political party," be struck out. Motion made, seconded and carried to adopt the report of the committee.

Majority report of committee recommends that the preamble remain as it is. Axelson submitting a minority report, submitting the preamble amended as follows:

See "New Preamble."

Moved by Heslewood, seconded by Trainor, to adopt the majority report of the committee.

Discussion on the preamble and the proposed changes ensued. McArthur spoke against the wording of the preamble. Whitehead, in his arguments, contended that the political parties of today do not represent the working class interests nor working class politics. Vail of Omaha claims that the political reflex should be recognized and therefore is in favor of the preamble as it stands. Axelson of Minneapolis contended that rag-chewing will never cease in meetings and the councils of the I. W. W. as long as the present confusing reference to political action is expressed in the preamble. "Take out the little hook in the preamble, you must unite on the political field"—as we are accused of cowardice everywhere that we are afraid to cut that out and that we must lean towards certain political parties—show me where political action has accrued to the benefit and where it can benefit the working class."

Wm. Yates opposed the minority report on constitutional grounds, because the new proposed changes in the preamble were not submitted to the membership through the Bulletin within the required time of two months prior to the assembling of the convention.

He does not believe that the working class is ignorant of the political clause. The political clause amounts virtually to nothing in the preamble, why then pay so much attention to it. He hoped the convention would stand by the original preamble.

Organizer Walsh contended that there will be confusion all the time as long as the second clause referring to uniting on the political field is not clearly defined. All over the country this question is absorbing the minds of the workers, the question was to write the paragraph that the everyday worker could understand it. He could not understand how the committee, in view of all the requests for changes, could come in with an adverse report,

and he would certainly wish that the matter be recommended to the committee for further consideration.

A. Yates contended that the minority report contained nothing new. "Political action is the expression of what a community desired. The political question is insignificant and the convention should not bother about it, therefore, the convention should allow the preamble to stand as it is."

McArthur argued that if the reference to coming together on the political field and to political parties is so insignificant, why it was necessary to continue making reference to it, and why if that is the case the opponents to the proposition to change the preamble are so bitterly fighting it.

Richter of Detroit contended that the delegates to A. F. of L. conventions care not to carry out the instructions of the rank and file and don't seem to know what the rank and file wants, while the I. W. W. delegates know better what the membership wants, as they themselves, he did not believe in ignoring the political question and political parties.

Sattor of Los Angeles spoke against changing the preamble and said that if changes are made there will be more squabbles with the members of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party. Thompson, in speaking for the change of preamble, claimed that the discussion on the meaning of "political" will never cease as long as the I. W. W. membership is at variance with each others' ideas on the subject. He contended that the harping on the necessity and importance of political party action turns the workers away from the I. W. W. and instills in their mind the belief that relief and salvation can be expected from the capitalist class and their political agencies.

Francis Miller asked Thompson why he did not discuss his views on the subject through the columns of the Bulletin. Thompson stated that he did not wish to embarrass the general officers any more than necessary, owing to the fact that so many attacks were heaped upon them by other parties.

Yates asked Thompson whether he did not state before the general executive board of the I. W. W. last year that he fully agreed with the construction and interpretation of the preamble. Thompson answered that he agreed to abide by the construction put on the preamble as placed on it by the G. E. B., but did not state that he thought the preamble was scientifically correct.

Williams stated that he knew the spirit actuating those opposed to a change, and when asked by Yates to state one of them, he replied: "You as one!" He argued that with the changes and the growth of the organization new duties and new definitions press themselves upon the organization. The delegates have not considered the new preamble, as it does not say if or not we should stand by any political party. He believed that discussions would come up with the new preamble as with the old one in the past. Williams stated that he would support the amended preamble.

Williams was asked whether he did vote in the committee for the change and he stated that he did not vote at all on it.

Heslewood pleaded against the changing, as he did not care to be called a dynamiter, and the changing of the preamble by taking out the word "political" will inevitably give somebody a chance to denounce the I. W. W. as an anarchist organization. He had not studied the new preamble sufficiently, but was in favor to have the old stand at least for the time being.

Cole announced that he would support the new preamble, as he believed that the organizing of the workers on the industrial field is the most needed thing and he could not see whether political action had brought any benefit to the workers.

Ettor made the argument that he was in favor of changing the preamble but argued that at this time he did not think it was opportune, and so far as the statement that the preamble had caused disruption, he stated that to him it was a fact that both the political freak and the anti-political freak were both guilty. The preamble should be made clear and the question be put up to the rank and file.

Jerry Smith argued that the claim that the I. W. W. must have a shield or political reflex has caused so much discussion and confusion among the workers; this can only be changed when the I. W. W. confines its efforts strictly to the industrial field; he would therefore support the change of the preamble.

Rosener moved that convention adjourn to Monday morning, September 28th, call for roll call, motion being put, was lost.

Richter of Detroit spoke to the motion the second time and contended,

that nothing good could come from ignoring the political question. Whitehead argued that if the old preamble would stand then the convention should be consistent and go on record what party the workers should vote for.

Miller of Providence was in favor of the new changes in preamble, but would not vote for them because the workers did not have a chance to voice their opinion on it, and it should be put in print and left to them to decide whether they wanted a change now.

Delegate Flynn spoke in favor of the change, the present preamble with its contradictions had been the cause of much dissension and confusion, and among the membership of the I. W. W. there were so many different versions as to the meaning of political action and few only are able to explain it. Political action has today no power in itself, as thousands are disfranchised because out of employment and traveling through the country in search of work.

Thompson spoke at length on the theoretical meaning of the change, showing that the new additions are partly taken from Karl Marx's works and writings—where can there be "anarchy" when we advocate and stand for organization? Is organization anarchy? Why all this fight about the new construction, when there is not a point to base the objection on?

Vote was called for; the report of the majority of the committee was defeated, one vote dissenting, and the minority report was adopted by roll call vote of 35 to 32.

Motion to adjourn to Sunday morning at 9 o'clock was amended to change time to Monday, September 28, and the amendment was carried.

## SEVENTH DAY.

Monday, September 28th, 1908. Morning Session.

Chairman St. John called convention to order at 9:30 a. m. Roll call was read and five delegates were reported absent.

Minutes of session of the fifty day were read.

Corrections were requested on the point that the chair had stated that no one would serve on two committees.

Communication No. 31—letter from Local Union 522 of New York City with reference to the unseating of the delegate who had the proxy vote of the union—was ordered filed.

No. 32 communication was read from Millinery Workers' Union 53, and upon motion it was voted to turn the communication over to the resolution committee to draft an answer to the letter. Motion carried with three votes dissenting.

Resolution No. 33 was referred to the organization committee.

Resolution No. 34 was referred to the resolution committee.

No. 35. Report of organizer and Executive Board Member Heslewood was read and referred to the organization committee.

Whitehead made a request on behalf of the auditing committee that two additional members be appointed by the chair, as the committee has such an enormous job on hand that they would not finish it unless they got a double committee. Request was complied with and the chair appointed Wm. Yates, Geo. Conover and H. Richter.

The committee on press and literature requested one more member—reasons the same. Request was granted and the chair appointed Delegate Trainor.

Cole of the organization committee also asked for the appointment of another member, but on the suggestion of the chair he withdrew the request.

Report by grievance committee on case No. 11, protest of Local Union No. 179 against the illegal action of the New York District Council—Two reports were submitted, the majority report sustaining the complaints, and the minority adverse to the contentions of the plaintiff. The minority report was signed by Rosener. Motion was made by Hertz and seconded by McArthur that the majority report be adopted.

Morishey spoke on the motion and deplored that the unions, instead of uniting, were fighting each other. Williams went into details on the cause for complaint by Local Union No. 179. He related how Francis in the District Council picked out the names of members of the local and assorted them to locals according to his choice. He also claimed that Francis had left the list of members of Local Union No. 206 at home for a purpose, as a few self-employed of that local would not get out of the I. W. W. without a mandatory order by the convention or general executive board.

Wm. Yates contended that Williams has reached that stage that he really believed what he says, although unable to substantiate statements. He did not believe that the Industrial

District Council was assuming the authority of the G. E. B.

Delegate Flynn contended that it is absurd to allow an Industrial District Council to assume the right to revoke the charter of a local, that such power rested with the general organizer and the general executive board. She stated that Francis and the Industrial District Council had declared the local disbanded on their own authority; not only did the local protest against such illegal procedure, but she would have done it as a member. If Secretary Francis would have submitted the books of the Council to the convention it could be shown that her statements were correct. She contended that the minutes of the Industrial District Council were censored by Francis, inasmuch as the protest of the delegate from Local Union No. 179 had not been recorded, and this point could be proven, and more, were it not for the refusal of Francis to turn over the books to the general secretary-treasurer as ordered by the convention, that Vincent St. John had notified the District Council that they had no right to revoke charters.

The delegate stated that Local Union No. 179 was to be wiped out by Francis, that the members of that local advocated and tried to live up to the principles of the I. W. W., and whenever there was an increase in membership the disruptive tactics and the football play with the local hampered all permanent progress.

Motion to adopt the report of the majority and go on record that no District Council has the right to revoke charters was carried by a vote of 15 against 1.

Document No. 13, appeal of Fellow Worker Mercer of Denver, Colo., against suspension from Local Union No. 125—Committee on grievances recommends that the appellant be reinstated until given a fair trial under the provisions of the constitution.

Motion made by Williams, seconded by Trainor, that report be adopted. Motion carried.

Resolution No. 15, in the matter of McConnell of Pittsburgh, the committee recommends that he be expelled from the organization, as from the evidence submitted it is a case of plain scabbard.

Two of the committee voting in the affirmative and one not voting, Axelson moved, and it was seconded by Vail, that the report be adopted. A. Yates asked the question who had started the spontaneous strike, the I. W. W. or the A. F. of L? Vincent St. John and Williams explained the situation. In an open shop I. W. W. men were working alongside with A. F. of L. members, when a strike was called by spontaneous action of the workers, and two I. W. W. men stayed at work and both were escorted by police from work and to work, and denounced, of course, as scabs. They were expelled from the local of the I. W. W., that these two men did not stand by the principles of the I. W. W., and were nothing but scabs, and brought a stigma on the I. W. W. by their action. That McConnell was caught scabbing in another shop and that he offered all kinds of excuses. Motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Document No. 16, appeal of James Connolly against refusal of Local Union No. 58 to entertain charges against a member, Dan De Leon—Majority report of committee recommends that DeLeon must be compelled to bring evidence of the assertions made that either Connolly is a police spy or stand exposed to the world as a traducer and traitor to the working class. Minority report provides that the local be requested to investigate the charges.

Rosener made the motion, and it was seconded by Johnson, that it be the sense of the convention that the documents in the case be referred to Local Union No. 58 for a trial in that local.

Heslewood claimed that the appellant would not get better consideration by Local Union No. 58, as he did when he brought the case before them the first time. He stated that when a man accuses another of being an emissary of the Catholic church, he must furnish the proof.

The chair suggested that it would be a proper thing that the matter be sent back to the local for a hearing.

Axelson appealed to the convention to settle the matter at once and by the convention.

(Continued on page 4)

A word to the wise is sufficient! Gold facts should appeal to you. We must have \$5,000 within three months. If it be \$10,000 it would be still better. But we must have \$5,000. This is straight talk. You can get them, you, and you alone. Let this appeal speak for itself. Get to work, order collection lists from general headquarters, collect the sinews of war among your shopmates, every man, every woman a dollar! All together now!



FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION  
(Continued from page 2)

Francis Miller contended that charges when made should be proven. Walsh argued that the charges are not against Connolly direct, as only reference is made to a police spy and no name is mentioned. We may think we know who he is. The organization, however, should compel DeLeon to name the spy.

Williams contended that someone in the I. W. W. is slandered by DeLeon by his constant reference to a police spy. The organization has a right to know who he is, and the local should make DeLeon name the spy. Williams believed that DeLeon meant Connolly, but it should be made clear, as injury has been done by DeLeon to the organization. The local though protecting DeLeon, should be called upon to make DeLeon prove who is the spy.

Trainor contended that a man who is not here should not be stabbed in the back. Connolly would have to prove the charges he makes against DeLeon and the documents should be sent to both.

McArthur moved that the documents be sent to the locals for trial. Motion was seconded and carried with two dissenting votes.

Wm. Yates asked the floor for special privilege. He contended that he did not think that DeLeon meant Connolly when he referred to the police spy in the General Executive Board session, although Williams and Connolly think so, and he claimed that the case of DeLeon can not be compared with the assertions of Randall and others against St. John.

Motion to adjourn to 2 o'clock was carried. One vote against.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m. by Chairman Vincent St. John. Roll call was read; 5 absentees.

Committee on constitution reported.

The committee reported on the proposition submitted by Woodworkers' Union No. 420. A majority and a minority report were read. Chair proposed that the report be taken up serially, if there were no objections. Miller moved that Fellow Worker Jones be given the floor. No objection being raised, the floor was given to him to explain the details of the plans submitted. Williams moved, and it was seconded by Francis Miller, that minority report be considered first. Carried with one vote dissenting.

Motion made by Axelsson, and seconded by Pinkerton, that information be furnished on the plans submitted to the membership through the Bulletin and otherwise, so that an intelligent investigation can be assured. Motion carried.

Committee recommended favorably on the following proposition: "That none can be members at large of the I. W. W. except employees and officials of the organization."

Whitehead, in speaking on the subject-matter, stated that headquarters could transfer members at large from one part of the Northwest to another, and such members at large assume the right to go into locals and interfere with the affairs of the organization; the new proposition is superior to the old system, although it does not give full justice to the members at large.

Williams argued that the vote of individual members in bodies of the I. W. W. be denied, but that they be kept in touch and communication with general headquarters.

Conover argued that he was opposed to "Propaganda Leagues," any man paying dues should be entitled to a vote in the organization. Walsh contended that locals in a given district should be given more rights to control actions of members at large. He mentioned a case where a member at large had to be put out of the hall while Walsh was addressing a crowd because the member at large assumed the right to intervene in the affairs of the local organization. He argued that no one be accepted as members at large except officers.

Pinkerton suggested that a member of a local union should continue to pay dues to that local until he locates in another locality and then transfer to the local of that locality.

Walsh contended that it should be mandatory upon members to transfer immediately to the local of a locality as soon as they locate.

Miller said that if such a plan could be made operative he would be in favor of same.

Motion that only officers, organizers and office employees be carried as members at large carried, with one vote dissenting.

Part B. Proposition of Local Union No. 420, Re Disbanding Mixed Locals.

Two reports of committee were submitted, one adversely and three

members voting in favor of recommending the abolishing of mixed locals.

Conover spoke against the majority report. Does not favor the disfranchising of members who pay dues.

Flynn: The mixed local is not an industrial union, and does not work for the interest of industrial unions, as they endeavor to increase their own membership. Mixed locals will not even help organizing unions of workers in the industries in which they belong. Hertz argued that mixed locals are built on a wrong basis; he would be in favor of propaganda leagues, and the locals which he represents are very much in favor of it.

Trainor: What assurance have we, if the vote is taken away from present members of mixed locals, that they will continue their propaganda for industrial unionism? You would disfranchise good members and workers and would have no guarantee whatsoever that the rag-chewing will cease. He could not see the benefit for the organization in doing away with mixed locals.

Sauter: Does not favor mixed locals, but he is not in favor of disbanding them at this time.

Vail: To overcome the difficulties connected with mixed locals it should be made mandatory that an industrial union be formed out of the members of a mixed local as soon as a stipulated number of workers of one industry have joined the mixed local.

Stark: Two local unions at the Pacific Coast would be lost if you should legislate to take away the vote of members of mixed locals.

Ettor: Favors that members of mixed locals should have no vote in the administrative affairs of the organization. We should not start over again and organize propaganda leagues, but make efforts to make the mixed locals the propaganda organizations of the I. W. W.

Pinkerton: If mixed locals are abolished, where are we going to get our conventions? Look around and see the number of mixed locals represented at this convention. A few should not be allowed to legislate for the others.

Whitehead coincided with views expressed by Pinkerton. Does not believe having two distinct parts in the organization. "Let the industrial unions do the propaganda work and let the mixed locals drop out as soon as we get strong enough with industrial unions."

Wm. Yates agrees with Ettor's opinions to some extent. He showed by figures how industrial unions develop and financially support the organization, while the mixed locals don't. Does not believe that mixed locals should have a vote in the affairs, nor does he believe that propaganda leagues would do away with the troubles.

Moved by Yates, seconded by Heslewood, as an amendment, that members of mixed locals shall have no vote in the administrative affairs of the organization.

Williams: A mixed local works for itself only and does not engage itself in the shop affairs of the members constituting the local. Mixed locals have been the stamping ground for wrangles between political factions, and these wrangles have been mostly responsible for the turn of the tide towards constructive industrial unionism in many localities. Take away their vote, put it up to them, and let them center their efforts in building up industrial unions.

Axelsson: He stated that he had voted in the committee for the proposition, but he has changed his mind since; when industrial unions are dead throughout the country, due to the industrial stagnation the mixed locals still hold away as directing centers for industrial union propaganda. While true that mixed locals were the place where rag-chewing was indulged in, as to political action and political parties the change of the preamble by the convention will eliminate this feature from the mixed locals.

Moved by McArthur and seconded that the constitution stands as it is.

Ettor asked whether there would not be as much rag-chewing in propaganda leagues as in mixed locals.

A. Yates: The old preamble, with its reference to uniting the workers on the political field, worked as a scarecrow for many a politician who tried to cater for votes in the I. W. W. He urged that more attention be paid to organizing the workers in large industrial centers. He does not believe in propaganda leagues, as in his opinion they would not pay.

Flynn: You would take the vote away from the members of mixed locals, yet allow us to pay for propaganda. Leave it as it is if you intend to disfranchise workers in the I. W. W.

Smith wanted to know what difference there would be between a mixed local and a propaganda league.

McArthur argued on the motion that the constitution remains as it is.

Connolly was granted the privilege of the floor to address the convention on propaganda leagues and their functions in the I. W. W.

Fr. Miller would not favor abolishing of mixed locals, as the discipline in the organization would be undermined. Members of all industrial unions would also be members of propaganda leagues and discord and dissension would be the result.

Walsh is against mixed locals. Their work consists of squabbling on soap boxes on non-essentials, and real constructive work is discouraged by them. It is claimed that to mass the workers together it would be more appropriate to strike out the word "in" in the mass to have a clear idea what the mixed locals are doing. He favored propaganda leagues, and also would support the amendment.

Vail: There are many well-meaning former members of the A. R. U. are former members of the A. R. N. are supporting the movement although not members.

Moved by Sauter, seconded by Rosener, that previous motion be put. Motion carried.

The motion to leave constitution re mixed locals stand as it is carried by a roll-call vote of 51 against 14.

Motion to adjourn to 9 o'clock a. m. Tuesday, carried.

Adjournment, 6:30 p. m.

## EIGHTH DAY—FORENOON SESSION.

Tuesday, September 29th. Chairman St. John called convention to order at 9 o'clock a. m.

Roll call was read; six absentees. Minutes of previous day's session were read and delegates requested to submit any corrections in writing, so that they could be incorporated in the minutes.

Delegate Flynn wished to have the correction that it was the District Council of New York that ordered the dissolution of Local Union No. 179.

Resolutions Committee proceeded to report.

Committee reported that the following resolution, No. 34, be adopted: "Whereas, The primary object of the Industrial Workers of the World is to unite the workers on the industrial battlefield, and

Whereas, Organization, in any sense, implies discipline through the subordination of parts to the whole, and of the individual member to the body of which he is a part; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline within the organization, the I. W. W. refuses all alliances, direct or indirect, with existing political parties or anti-political sects, and disclaims responsibility for any individual opinion or act which may be at variance with the purposes herein expressed."

Signed by 9 delegates: Vincent St. John, Joseph J. Ettor, Fred W. Heslewood, J. H. Walsh, J. D. Smith, B. H. Vail, B. H. Williams, C. H. Axelsson, Harry L. Gaines.

Motion was made by Hertz, and seconded by Williams, that the report of the committee be concurred in. Motion carried.

The chair ordered J. H. Walsh to read the complete financial report of the General Secretary-Treasurer, but as the reading would take up about two days, a motion was made by Williams, and duly seconded, that the report be turned over to the Finance Committee. Motion carried.

Committee on Constitution reported as follows: That Section 2, Article 1, Part E, remain as it is. Motion made, seconded and carried, to adopt report.

Committee recommends that Section 2D, of Article 1, be amended to read: "National Industrial Unions shall be formed whenever there are more than five local industrial unions in any one industry, having a joint membership of three thousand or more. National Industrial Unions shall maintain all communications between local industrial unions and General Headquarters, until such time as the department to which the National Industrial Union belongs, is organized."

Motion was made and seconded to adopt report of committee. Motion carried with two dissenting votes.

Committee recommends that Section 3, of Article 1, be amended as follows: "The Industrial Department shall consist of two or more National Industrial Unions, aggregating a membership of not less than 10,000 members. The departments shall have general supervision over the affairs of the national industrial union composing same, provided the General Executive Board shall have power to control these departments in matters concerning the interest of the general organization."

Motion was made and seconded to adopt the report.

Amendment was offered by Hertz, and duly seconded, that "6,000" be

inserted in place of "10,000" to constitute a department.

Amendment was lost, two voting in favor of amendment.

Original motion carried, two votes being cast against.

Committee recommends that Section 4, of Article 1, remain as it is.

Motion to adopt carried, two votes dissenting.

Committee recommends that Section 5, Article 1, remain unchanged.

Motion to adopt report of committee carried.

Committee recommends the adoption of a new section, numbered 6, as follows: "No National Industrial Union or Department shall be formed unless the local or national unions to compose same shall have been chartered by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. at least four months."

Motion was made to adopt report.

Amendment was offered by McArthur, and seconded, to strike out "four months."

The amendment carried by a vote of 14 to 5.

Original motion, as amended, carried.

Committee recommended another new section, to be numbered Section 7, of Article 1, as follows:

"Propaganda leagues or clubs for purposes of propaganda and education along the lines of industrial unionism, and to assist in recruiting members for the local industrial unions, shall be formed wherever conditions make such bodies possible. All wage workers and their wives shall be eligible to membership in the Propaganda League by subscribing to the Preamble and the Constitution of the I. W. W. The Propaganda Leagues shall be chartered by, and maintain direct relation with, the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. through the general secretaries. They shall report regularly on their work and shall be under the supervision of the general administration of the I. W. W. Language Branches and District Propaganda Leagues, forming Federations of local Propaganda Leagues, may be established wherever conditions require such formation. Individuals in different localities may, until such time as a local Propaganda League is formed, attach themselves to General Headquarters as members at large in the Propaganda League."

Motion was made to concur in report. After discussion by numerous delegates, the motion was lost by a vote of 41 to 20, by roll-call vote.

Motion to adjourn carried, to 2 o'clock p. m.

(To be continued.)

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## NOTICE.

For the benefit of all those fellow workers who speak or understand the Italian language we would call attention to the opportunity of securing the services of Fellow Worker Gildo Biagi as organizer and lecturer. Fellow Biagi will leave Seattle about November 20th on a trip through the Northwest for the purpose of organizing the Italian workers in the Industrial Workers of the World.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LOCAL NO. 163 THANKSGIVING EVE BALL.

I. W. W. members of Jersey City and vicinity should inscribe the following note upon their memorias, as it surely will enable them to enable them to most pleasantly spend the evening of the date in question.

On Thanksgiving Eve, Wednesday, November 25th, beginning at 8 P. M., Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 143 of Jersey City, will hold its second annual ball, at Belvedere Hall, 100 Ave. and Old Bergen Road, Greenville, Jersey City. Admission 15 cents; hat-check, 10 cents. Ladies' hat-check free.

To reach hall take Greenville or Montgomery-Greenville car to Danforth Ave. An enjoyable evening is guaranteed. Therefore, bring sweetheart, wife and all your friends along.

Take notice that I. W. W. General Headquarters has moved to Room 210, Bush Temple, 212 Bush Temple, 247 E. 54th St. Remember! only on the floor above. Remember!

ATTENTION.

Headquarters wants 10 copies of the Bulletin, No. 25, Aug. 22nd, 1908.

NOTICE.

New York City. Woodworkers' Industrial Union No. 420 meets every first and third Wednesday, 8 P. M., in Room 6, Labor Temple, 347 E. 54th St.

OFFICIAL NOTICES.

Under this heading we will publish all notices of an official nature coming from General Headquarters as well as from Local Unions.

Letter sent in for publication, such as place and time of meetings, location of headquarters, etc., must reach this office not later than Tuesday noon to assure publication in the issue of the same week.

NOTICE TO READERS OF THE I. W. W.

Any one who can spare copies of the Bulletin of Vol. 3, Nos. 1 to 18, 19 and 20 will confer a favor upon us by sending same to J. E. Hillers, Director of the New York Astor Library, 435 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y.

NOTICE, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. All workers in the Imperial Valley are urged to get into Local No. 487 I. W. W. at once. Those desiring to do so should write to R. S. Carroll, Box 42, Holtville, Cal.

When you have read this paper, pass it on to a friend.

Get subscriptions for the "Bulletin."

## THE NEW PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution:

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